‘Liebe Eltern!’ - ‘Liebes Kind’: Letters between Kindertransportees and their Families as Everyday Life Documents

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This article examines letters by those who came to Britain on a Kindertransport in 1938/39 and their families. Research on the Kindertransport can fall back on a large number of memory documents but far fewer contemporary records. Diaries and letters are two genres which depict the everyday life of the child refugee but also that of the parents who were often still in Germany, Austria or Czechoslovakia. This article will outline what we can learn from these letters about the Kindertransport experience from different angles.

In an introduction to a publication of the Oppenheimer family letters, their daughter Ruth L. David and the historian Renate Knigge-Tesche compare the letters by two families who suffered persecution under the National Socialist regime thus: ‘In beiden Familien sind Briefe aus der schrecklichen Zeit erhalten geblieben, die scheinbar nur Alltägliches erzählen’.[1] The expression ‘nur Alltägliches’ reflects the assumption by the two authors that there is something more important than a description of the everyday. This article will argue that the portrayal of the everyday is significant and necessary to understand the history of National Socialist persecution, the refugee experience and, in this case, especially the experience of the Kindertransport in 1938/39 to Britain.

The proliferation of the publication of collections of letters relating to the Kindertransport indicates that such books have become increasingly popular and important. As I have discussed elsewhere, there are a large number of memory documents relating to the Kindertransport, but few contemporary archival sources.[2] Collections of letters are therefore an important find. Here we will look at published letters, letters housed in archives and in a variety of formats as well as some letters that are in private family collections.

Most collections of letters in existence today only chronicle one half of the correspondence: most often only the letters from the parents and relatives writing to the children have survived. Many children clearly kept the letters received from their loved ones, and growing up in the relative safety of the UK they were able to do this. Of course not all Kindertransportees managed to keep the letters from their parents for a variety of reasons, sometimes because they led relatively unsettled lives. This was not necessarily the case with Martha Blend, but she states in her memoir *A Child Alone*: 'Unfortunately [my parents'] letters were not kept, so the only example of my parents' handwriting is my father's contribution to my autograph album.'[3] This shows that many former Kindertransportees treasured any physical manifestation of their deceased parents' lives.

A lot of the parents or relatives who were deported and even murdered were not able to leave anything in safety. We have to bear this in mind when analysing the correspondence relating to the Kindertransport. However, this does not mean that no letters written by the Kindertransportees survived, and this body of letters might be

bigger than previously thought as a larger number of parents of Kindertransport children did survive the Holocaust and saw their children again.

Over the last 70 years there has been some speculation as well as research relating to the percentage of Kindertransportees who were reunited with their parents. There is still no definite answer to this question, but as Francis Williams points out, it is estimated that - based on the AJR's survey 'Making New Lives in Britain' - 46 percent of all Kindertransportees saw at least one parent again after 1945.[4] In some cases the parents of Kindertransportees managed to pass on their children's letter to friends before they were deported. This was the case with the Mosbacher family, who passed letters and documents relating to their emigration attempts to a non-Jewish friend, Franz Heurich. Eva Mosbacher was twelve years old when she arrived in the UK in 1939 on a Kindertransport. Her parents Margarete and Otto Mosbacher did not manage to escape from National Socialist Germany and were deported and murdered. Franz Heurich contacted relatives of the Mosbachers after the war, which led to the return of some documents and the eventual deposit of others in the public domain.[5]

The correspondence of the Oppenheimer family is an example where only the letters the parents sent to the children survived. However, it is an especially interesting collection as it contains the letters to four different children who had fled to three different countries: Argentina, the US and the UK. The Oppenheimers' non-Jewish former maid, Mina Dümig, who seems to have been more like

a friend of the family than merely an employee, received a folder with letters sent by the children to the parents and copies of letters when the parents, Moritz and Margarete Oppenheimer, together with their youngest children, Michael and Feodora, were deported to Vichy-governed Southern France on 22 October 1940.

The Oppenheimers' second oldest son Werner had left Germany on 14 May 1938 to start a new life in South America, a destination the parents hoped to be able to bring the whole family to. The oldest son Ernst emigrated to the US; the oldest daughter Hannah came to the UK as did the slightly younger daughter Ruth, who - in February 1939 - arrived in the UK aged 11 on a Kindertransport. Ruth David née Oppenheimer received a folder with correspondence from Mina Dümig in 1957. It contained copies of many letters the parents had written to all the children, but especially copies of letters to Ernst and Werner as they often contained details of emigration plans. Initially Ruth David found the letters too painful to read, however, after writing her memoir, she edited the letters (with Renate Knigge-Tesche) and they were published in 2008 in Wiesbaden. In the introduction she writes about the importance of the letters:

> Heute erst erkenne ich, welch ein Schatz von durchaus historischer Bedeutung die Briefe sind. Nur ganz wenige Menschen, die das gleiche Schicksal wie meine Eltern erlitten, konnten solche Schriftzeugnisse bewahren. Noch weniger vermochten sie für die Nachwelt erhalten.[6]

From this and many other collections of letters we learn that often a number of people contributed to one letter sent at any one time

– often due to shortage of paper and in order to save on postage. The letters to either Herbert or Doris, two Kindertransportees about whom we do not know much, normally came in two distinct letters, one letter from the mother and one letter from the father, but sent in one envelope.[7] Also, letters were often passed from one addressee to the next. The Oppenheimer parents addressed their letters to all of their relatives in the UK, including Kindertransportee Ruth and her older sister Hannah: 'Liebe Erna, Liese, Hannah und Ruth'.[8]

For a number of Kindertransportees, the correspondence with their parents is an important source for information when writing their memoirs. As I have discussed elsewhere, the letters can be seen as authenticity markers, i.e. quotes from letters serve as proof of the authenticity of the related experience and thus of the autobiographical narrative.[9] This seems to be the case with Vera Gissing's memoir *Pearls of Childhood* and Hannele Zürndofer's *The Ninth of November*.[10] They generally document a positive relationship with their parents. However, sometimes letters became the bearer of bad news. Martha Blend describes receiving a letter informing her of the death of her father. This is a significant passage in the narrative of her memoir, as it shows how the author not only suppressed the memory of receiving this letter immediately after it happened but even 'continues to do so while writing this account':[11]

> I received an official-looking letter from the Red Cross addressed to me. When I opened it, it said that my mother had been informed of the death of her husband. My aunt found me sobbing hysterically and, unable to read the

> letter herself, demanded to know the cause of my outburst of grief. When I told her, she insisted: 'No, it's not true!'
> I knew this for a false and foolish reassurance, yet such is one's desire not to believe the worst, that I was half persuaded by it.[12]

This article will examine both sides of the correspondence and assess the letters as a source for research on the history of everyday life and the way they are used in memoirs and Kindertransport narratives. The history of everyday life is important for Exile Studies. Although there are still aspects of the life and work of well-known political figures or artists and writers who had to flee National Socialism to be discovered, the majority of the refugees did not lead prominent lives. This is an important aspect of exile to convey to both German-speaking and English-speaking audiences who sometimes seem to believe that all German-speaking Jews were famous. The social history of the Kindertransport performs this function well: the needs of children are similar whatever the circumstances and thus the public finds it easier to identify with this group of refugees. 'Das Exil der kleinen Leute' has often been named an area for research within Exile Studies. However, as these 'little people' did not leave novels, political treatises or works of art for us to interpret, it is more difficult to research this area. Letters make it possible, as they were the main communication tool between people living apart.

The discussion surrounding the concept of everyday life has a long history: John Roberts in his essay 'Philosophising the Everyday' charts this history from early Marxist thinkers to Henri Lefebvre, who was the first to recognise the difference between the everyday and

everydayness.[13] The externally-imposed repetitiveness of daily life constitutes the alienating experience of everydayness, whereas lived, everyday experience and the sense of self which is engendered by this provide the basis for resistance, criticism and change.[14]

As Ben Highmore argues, 'Lefebvre proposes, not only that the study of everyday life is a study of alienation under conditions of modernity, but that the transformation of everyday life will be brought about by the de-alienation of human beings and the creation of the total person'.[15] In other words, focusing on everyday life does not just foreground how individuals' lives were impacted and determined by the repressive social forces of the time, but it also reveals the agency and imagination of individuals in resisting those forces of everydayness and suggests possibilities for alternative, less repressive social orders grounded in everyday experience rather than hierarchical power structures.

If we use these concepts as analytical tools for our interpretation of Kindertransportees' letters, we can acknowledge that some of what we read is 'nur Alltägliches', but at the same time our reading of these letters will open up space for changed thinking on the refugee experience, on life under National Socialism and on life in Britain during the war. In particular, such an approach invites us to view Kindertransportees as rounded individuals with agency in determining their own values and meanings rather than in the various passive roles that can be constructed for them as either the victims of NS policies or the beneficiaries of British hospitality. Through such

approaches, we can see the importance of the letters for both today's researchers and for interested members of the public.

Initially, of course, the letters were important for the letter writers and the recipients. We can learn from diary entries written by the Kindertransportees that the arrival of a letter from their parents was important to them, and it was often recorded in diaries and other letters: '16.1.40 Beim Öffnen eines Briefes der Eltern', writes Fritz Seelig in his diary.[16] In general, the correspondence seems to take place with some frequency. Often the correspondents write about their pleasure when receiving letters and their longing for them. Sometimes the parents remind their children to write more often or to write in more detail: 'Ich freue mich herzlich mit deinen lieben Zeilen - aber du musst uns doch ein bißchen ausführlicher in deinen Briefen schreiben.'[17]

But sometimes it was the child that expressed his or her desire to receive another letter soon. Eva Mosbacher ends a letter to her parents with a postscript in capital letters: 'SCHREIBT BITTE RECHT BALD!'[18] Ruth David writes that the letters were life-saving, that they were treasured and re-read frequently: 'Traf endlich einer der jeden Tag sehnlichst erwarteten Briefe ein, wurde er nach der ersten raschen Lektüre weggeschlossen und dann später wieder and wieder gelesen.'[19] However, as rereading the letters frequently brought the girls who lived in a hostel for Kindertransportees to tears, those in charge decided that the letters had to be surrendered to the matrons. David, placing such importance on the letters, did not abide by this rule, and henceforth hid the letters she received. After the war the

letters became the only thing that remained as a physical legacy of her parents after their murder in Auschwitz. This shows how everyday objects such as letters and everyday communication such as the correspondence between parents and children became imbued with a deeper meaning because of the historical situation.

It is very difficult to generalise the Kindertransport experience as a lot depended on the age of the child refugee, religious affiliation, their social class and the circumstances of their foster or hostel placement in the UK. Researching Kindertransportees' letters confirm these variables. Many children started writing the moment they left their parents' care and started their train journey. Eva Mosbacher was 12 years old when she left her parents in Meiningen in Thuringia. She seems very mature in her letters, reflecting on the farewell and clearly keen to cheer her parents up:

> 10. Mai 1939 im Zug zwischen Dettelbach und Würzburg
> Mein liebes Viehle und meine liebe Molli! Das Schlimmste wäre jetzt wohl vorüber. Und ich finde, Ihr habt Euch sehr schön tapfer gehalten. Bei mir gings ja nicht ganz ohne Tränen ab sosehr ich mir auch Mühe gab. Hoffentlich habt Ihr doch noch ein wenig schlafen können, damit Ihr nicht ganz dermatscht seid, es langt schon so!
> Ich habe sehr netter Gesellschaft. Die Münchner Kinder sind reizend, und sprechen goldig münchnerisch.[20]

Other former Kindertransportees such as Ruth David describe how it was the parents who present a positive picture in order to not worry their children: 'Dass für meine Eltern das Leben nicht annähernd so sorglos war, wie es mich ihre Briefe glauben machten,

wird in den Schreiben an Ernst und Werner deutlich.'[21] When reading the correspondence today, we have to bear in mind that the letters from the parents were addressed to a child. This makes the collection of letters addressed to all the sons and daughters of the Oppenheimers so interesting, as we can compare the letters sent to the ten year old Ruth with those sent to her brothers Ernst and Werner who 24 and 22 in 1939. The letters to Ernst and especially to Werner are full of plans regarding the Oppenheimers' emigration and the requirements and prerequisites and how these can be obtained. Letters to Ruth are full of news about relatives and acquaintances.[22] In a letter to Werner his father and mother voice their frustration with the administrative nightmare that is the emigration process and in this case the Argentinian Consul:

> Vater war bereits zweimal in Stuttgart, man hat geschrieben, telefoniert; der Hilfsverein, der sich sogar ganz tadellos benimmt, hat sich in Hamburg mit dem Generalkonsulat in Verbindung gesetzt – es nüzt alles nichts, der Mann w i l l nicht, gibt uns noch nicht mal mehr eine Antwort.[23]

Ruth David describes her own correspondence in relation to the matter of emigration as egotistical. She remembers asking 'Wann werdet Ihr fahren?'[24] and retrospectively interprets this question as a desire to be reunited with her parents. From the point of view of today's attitude to child attachment, this seems an entirely understandable reaction of a child who was separated from her parents and longed to see them again.

There were other reasons why the correspondence was maybe not as open as it might be in other circumstances; once the war started, censors read the letters in Germany and the UK and certain information hat to be omitted if the letter was to have any chance of reaching its destination. Some letters clearly did not reach their destination. In the correspondence between the parents and the Kindertransportees we frequently read about letters arriving at infrequent intervals, arriving out of sequence or not arriving at all.

Despite the attempts to spare the other correspondents emotional turmoil, it was not uncommon that the parents living in difficult and threatening circumstances in Continental Europe asked their children for help: be it for household goods and food or more importantly for assistance in the emigration process. In one instance, the Oppenheimer parents made very modest requests of their son for 'Stopfgarn und Zwieback'.[25] However, in a later letter we can read that Moritz Oppenheimer asks his son Werner, who was a young adult and had already emigrated to Argentina, to confirm that the son and other relatives were able to financially support the families' emigration:

> Ich muss also von Dir ein Schreiben vorlegen können, aus dem ersichtlich ist, ob Du und eventuell andere Verwandte etwas zu unserer Ausreise beisteuern können und wie viel dieses sein könnte. […] Ich hoffe also schnellstens wieder Nachricht von Dir zu erhalten.[26]

In other cases it was not money - which the Kindertransportees themselves were unlikely to have - but a closer connection to other relatives that the parents sought to foster. The

parents of Kindertransportees Herbert and Doris placed their hopes on a relative called Fritz Goldschmidt. This connection is mentioned in almost all of the letters and sometimes we find veiled attempts to get Herbert to keep in touch with him: 'Inzwischen hatte ich auch Post von Fritz Goldschmidt, den ich auch gleich wieder beantwortet habe, vielleicht gibt er sich Mühe und hilft uns, dass wir bald hier wegkommen. Kannst Du öfters zu Goldschmidt's?'[27] At other times it is clear that the parents are desperate to find a way out of Germany and the tone of the letter is quite impatient:

> Es hat leider wieder einmal lange gedauert, bis ihr diesmal geantwortet habt, aber die ersehnte Nachricht, dass wir bald bei Euch sein können, fehlt immer noch. [...] Ihr könnt Euch garnicht denken, wie ich mich nach dorten freue, ich habe vorige Woche einmal an Fritz Goldschmidt geschrieben, ob er mir nicht helfen könne, dass ich einstweilen meine Wartezeit in England verbringen könnte, dies ist aber mit großen Umständen verbunden und muss hierfür auch eine Garantie aufgebracht werden.[28]

Parents of Kindertransportees almost engage in an act of parenting by correspondence. They frequently show concern for the children's bodily needs, relating first and foremost of course to food and adequate clothing. 'Was hast Du denn an Kleidung nötig - schreib mir – vielleicht kann ich Dir doch wieder ein Päckchen senden.'[29] However, it goes further than that, and one mother writes to her son expressing concern over the care for his finger and toe nails: 'Ich möchte doch gern hören ob Du auch deine Finger und Fußnägel schön in Ordnung hast. Vielleicht kannst Du dies in einem Geschäft machen

lassen.'[30] The relationship between parents and children in these letters reflects their relationship in less traumatic circumstances. The parents and other relatives write about sending presents and treats, such as toys and chocolate, as a token of affection and to cheer the children up: 'Tante Friedel schrieb gestern von Amerika, dass sie Dir wegen des hohen Zolles keine neue Puppe senden kann, da du diesen Zoll nicht bezahlen kannst, sie wird Dir wahrscheinlich eine schöne gebrauchte Puppe, die keine Zoll kostet, schicken.'[31] On the other hand, the parents implored the children to behave well and to study hard. Some of the older children clearly resented the frequent advice:

> Ich muss bei so vielem selbst entscheiden und bei noch viel mehr Rede und Antwort stehen, dass sich solche Kleinigkeiten wie Ihr sie mir schreibt ganz von selbst verstehen. Natürlich wenn Ihr hier (wäret) würde ich Euch bei Allem fragen, aber das kann ja leider nicht sein. Ihr könnt Euch drauf verlassen ich mache bestimmt alles nach Eurem Sinn.[32]

The letters can illuminate hitherto little explored aspects of the Kindertransport, for example the relationship between the parents and the foster parents. In this case, the parents of Herbert and Doris added passages for the foster family to the letters addressed to their son and daughter. These express their gratitude to the foster family as well as the hope that they themselves will be able to emigrate to the UK:

> Liebe Familie Ruben. Wir danken Ihnen herzlichst für Ihre liebe Zeilen und sind Ihnen dankbar dass Sie dem lieben Herbert ein so schönes Heim geben. Es ist dieses doch für uns hier eine große Beruhigung wenn man weiß dass die Kinder mit Liebe aufgenommen sind. Hoffentlich ist lieber Herbert auch

> artig und folgsam und macht Ihnen nicht allzuviel Arbeit. Herbert ist ja feste bemüht auch uns zu helfen dass wir bald nach [...] kommen und hoffen wir – dass wir Ihnen auch einmal persönlich für Ihre Aufmerksamkeit danken können. Bei uns ist es sehr einsam – nachdem die lieben Kinder fort sind. Lassen Sie öfters bei Herberts Briefen von sich hören und empfangen Sie die freundlichsten Grüße von Ihrer dankbaren Lilli Goldschmidt.[33]

Some letters by the child refugees are reflective of their and their family's situation at the mercy of vast political forces. The letters express worries that the child refugee might have about the situation the parents find themselves in, either still in Germany or Austria, or as a refugee but worried about those left behind. In the following letter, the young letter writer anticipates the outbreak of the Second World War and shows concern for her mother who is left behind as well as her father who is now in the US. She is clearly aware of the difficult situation and realistic about the possibilities for rescue:

> Southport, 2 September 1939
>
> Lieber Papa!
>
> Ich schreib Dir einen Brief u. weiß eigentlich nicht warum. Ich bin aber bestimmt nicht der einzige Mensch, der am 2. Sep. dieses Jahres etwas tut u. nicht weiß weshalb u. warum, bloß um sich zu beruhigen. Sag Papa gibt es keine Möglichkeit mehr um die Mutti rauszukriegen, wirklich keine? Obwohl Du über den Satz nur lachen wirst habe ich ihn geschrieben.
>
> Kann sie nicht irgendwie über Italien raus, da müssen doch Züge verkehren. Papschi eins muß ich dich bitten. So furchtbar schwer es auch Dir und uns allen fällt, Du darfst Dich nicht zu viel aufregen, weil wir 3 einen gesunden u. für seine Jahre jungen Vater brauchen und die Mutter einen gesunden Mann.[34]

Correspondence became much more difficult once the Second World War broke out. Vera Gissing, a child refugee who came to the UK on one of the transports from Czechoslovakia, writes in her memoir that she sent a 'grown-up letter' to her parents because she realised that the threat of war was imminent and that a war would make correspondence difficult.[35] Gissing states that she felt she had to write about her love for her parents and that she was a 'big girl', able to cope without the immediate guidance. She quickly received a reply from her mother:

> You can't imagine what joy your letter gave me. You are good and kind, you are my dearest little girl who has never let us down and never will. If only merciful God would grant us the chance to make up to you and Eva at least in part what we are unable to do for you now.[36]

Some parents managed to send letters via relatives in other countries. Martha Blend describes this process in her memoir:

> Meanwhile to my surprise I was still getting letters from my mother, although all official communication with Austria had been cut off. She had a brother in Antwerp who forwarded the letters to me and vice versa. She did the best to sound hopeful about an eventual reunion and was guarded about telling me anything about the harassment she must undoubtedly have been suffering. I, in turn, did my best to reassure her about my health and safety.[37]

Ruth David's parents sent letters via a friend in Rotterdam and another friend in Lithuania. Ruth David points out that she was the only one of

the girls in her hostel that still received letters from parents after 1940. Some Kindertransportees and their parents corresponded by Red Cross Postcards. These only allowed for short messages of up to 25 words.

It seems that the correspondents largely concentrated on stating their love for each other and that there is little room for everyday detail:

> 12. Dezember 1940
> Meine allerbesten Wünsche zu Molli's Geburtstag. Hoffe Euch gesund, - mir geht's sehr gut. Haltet Kopf hoch und seid guten Mutes.
> Viele Kussis usw. Euer Häsle
> Eva Mosbacher[38]

However, Eva Mosbacher managed to convey exactly the sort of everyday information that breaks through the discourse of despair. When informed that her parents' efforts to emigrate to the US were in vain, she wrote: 'Seid nicht traurig – einmal wird's schön werden. Gehe zu Nähstunden, bis ich Euch wiedersehe, kann ich Kleider machen. Herzlichst, Häsle.'[39] The fact that she was taking sewing lessons seems insignificant when considering the historical development of the time. But it signifies that life for the Kindertransportees consisted of ordinary activities as well as the extraordinary situation of being separated from their parents who were under intense pressure from the National Socialist state. The fact that Eva managed to convey that she is leading a settled life in the UK would no doubt have cheered up the parents. She then connects this with a positive future, where she will be able to make clothes for the

parents. Here the description of the everyday implies a positive outcome for the family.

Reading this letter today shows us this tension between the everyday life of a Kindertransportee and the historical forces at play. We know that the reunion between child and parents often did not take place; this was true in the case of the Mosbacher family: Hedwig and Otto Mosbacher were deported and murdered, though there is no information as to the circumstances and exact date. The hope expressed in the letters is a poignant reminder that the outcome should have been different. Ben Highmore discusses how getting caught up in everyday activities and feelings provides a defence against externally-imposed worries and concerns.[40] On the one hand, focusing on everyday activities such as studying and sewing was probably a good way for Eva to keep her mind off worries about her parents, or at least of helping her cope with those worries. However, the fact that she was planning to make clothes for her parents indicates how focusing on the the portrayal of the everyday is not just a coping mechanism but also a way of imagining how society should be different, which in this case takes the form of Eva imagining a future for herself and her family in which she can give them clothes she has made.

While these are Eva's own specific everyday experiences, they are easily related to other people's experiences and not just those of Kindertransportees. As Highmore notes, 'it is not helpful to understand [the everyday] as peopled by monads. The ordinary harbours an abundance that is distinct from material plenty: it is there when we talk about something as common, it is there when we talk

about society, and it is there when we talk about "us".'[41] It is for this reason that studying letters such as these brings the history of the Kindertransport closer to both a British and a German audience by emphasising the connections with everyone's daily lives. Reading these letters to and from Kindertransportees, we see the effects of the experience on those involved, and also gain some idea of what might have been possible if the circumstances had been different. Above all, however, we see what has been referred to as 'selfhood under construction'[42] in the Kindertransportees' use of everyday experience to resist the repressive pressures of the age and determine their own meanings in life.

Notes

[1] Ruth L. David and Renate Knigge-Tesche, 'Vorwort', *'... Im Dunkel So Wenig Licht…' Briefe Meiner Eltern vor Ihrer Deportation nach Auschwitz* (Wiesbaden, Thrun-Verlag, 2008), p. 7

[2] See Andrea Hammel, 'The Future of Kindertransport Research: Archives, Diaries, Databases, Fiction' in Andrea Hammel and Bea Lewkowicz (eds), *The Kindertransport 1938/39: New Perspectives. Yearbook of the Research Centre for German and Austrian Exile Studies*, Vol.13, Rodopi, Amsterdam, pp. 141-156.

[3] Martha Blend, *A Child Alone,* (London, Vallentine Mitchell, 2001), p. 78.

[4] Francis Williams, *The Forgotten Kindertransportees: The Scottish Experience* (London, Bloomsbury, 2014), p. xv. As Williams points out, I myself am one of the academics who got this wrong. In *Der Kindertransport 1938/39: Rettung und Integration* (Frankfurt, Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 2003) Wolfgang Benz and I reiterate the misconception that 90% of

Kindertransportees never saw their parents again. This turns out to be wrong, and I apologise for not questioning this figure which was not based on evidence. The Association of Jewish Refugees Survey published in 2008 allows for a better overall picture, although we still do not have a precise figure.

[5] Christoph Gann, *'12 Jahre, Jude, 10.5.39 abgemeldet nach England' Das Schicksal Eva Mosbachers und ihrer Eltern*, (Landeszentrale für politische Bildung Thüringen, 2013), p. 5.

[6] Ruth L. David and Renate Knigge-Tesche, 'Vorwort', *'... Im Dunkel So Wenig Licht…' Briefe Meiner Eltern vor Ihrer Deportation nach Auschwitz* (Wiesbaden, Thrun-Verlag, 2008), p. 30.

[7] See for example, letters from both mother and father to Herbert, dated 8 June 1939,

[8] Ruth L. David and Renate Knigge-Tesche, *'... Im Dunkel So Wenig Licht…' Briefe Meiner Eltern vor Ihrer Deportation nach Auschwitz* (Wiesbaden, Thrun-Verlag, 2008), p. 55.

[9] See Andrea Hammel, 'Familienbilder im Spannungsfeld. Autobiografische Texte ehemaliger Kindertransport-Teilnehmer' in Wolfgang Benz, Claudia Curio and Andrea Hammel (eds), *Die Kindertransporte 1938/39. Rettung und Integration*, (Frankfurt/Main, Fischer Taschebuch Verlag, 2003), p. 192.

[10] See Vera Gissing, *Pearls of Childhood. A unique childhood memoir of life in wartime Britain in the shadow of the Holocaust* (London, Robson Books, 1994) and Hannele Zurndorfer, *The Ninth of November* (New York, Quartet Books, 1989).

[11] Martha Blend, *A Child Alone*, (London, Vallentine Mitchell, 2001), p. 118.

[12] *Ibid*., pp. 118/119.

[13] John Roberts, 'Philosophising the Everyday' in *Radical Philosophy* (November/ December 1999), pp. 16-29.

[14] For further discussion, see Andrea Hammel, *Everyday Life as Alternative Space in Exile Writing. The Novels of Anna Gmeyner, Selma Kahn, Hilde*

Spiel, Martina Wied and Hermynia Zur Mühlen, (Peter Lang, Berne, 2008), pp. 21-32.

[15] Ben Highmore, *Everyday Life and Cultural Theory*, (Routledge, London and New York, 2002), p. 120.

[16] Folder 3: Diary of Fritz Seelig, AR1115 Kurt Seelig Collection, Leo Baeck Archives, New York.

[17] Letter to Doris from her father dated 8 June 1939. Private Collection, Judy Mason-Benedict.

[18] Letter from Eva Mosbacher to her parents, reproduced on the back cover of Christoph Gann, *'12 Jahre, Jude, 10.5.39 abgemeldet nach England' Das Schicksal Eva Mosbachers und ihrer Eltern* (Landeszentrale für politische Bildung Thüringen, 2013).

[19] Ruth L. David and Renate Knigge-Tesche, 'Vorwort', *'... Im Dunkel So Wenig Licht…' Briefe Meiner Eltern vor Ihrer Deportation nach Auschwitz* (Wiesbaden, Thrun-Verlag, 2008), p. 21.

[20] Letter from Eva Mosbacher to her parents in Christoph Gann, *'12 Jahre, Jude, 10.5.39 abgemeldet nach England' Das Schicksal Eva Mosbachers und ihrer Eltern*, (Landeszentrale für politische Bildung Thüringen, 2013), p.38.

[21] *Ibid*., p.64.

[22] Ruth L. David and Renate Knigge-Tesche, , *'... Im Dunkel So Wenig Licht…' Briefe Meiner Eltern vor Ihrer Deportation nach Auschwitz* (Wiesbaden, Thrun-Verlag, 2008), pp. 55-59.

[23] *Ibid*., p. 106.

[24] *Ibid*., p. 101.

[25] Ruth L. David and Renate Knigge-Tesche, 'Vorwort', *'... Im Dunkel So Wenig Licht…' Briefe Meiner Eltern vor Ihrer Deportation nach Auschwitz* (Wiesbaden, Thrun-Verlag, 2008), p. 7.

[26] Ruth L. David and Renate Knigge-Tesche, , *'... Im Dunkel So Wenig Licht…' Briefe Meiner Eltern vor Ihrer Deportation nach Auschwitz* (Wiesbaden, Thrun-Verlag, 2008), p. 59.

[27] Letter to Herbert from his father dated 12 May 1939. Private Collection, Judy Mason-Benedict.

[28] Letter to Herbert and Doris from their father dated 12 February 1939. Private Collection, Judy Mason-Benedict.

[29] Letter to Herbert from his mother dated 1 June 1939. Private Collection, Judy Mason-Benedict.

[30] Letter to Herbert from his mother dated 12 May 1939. Private Collection, Judy Mason-Benedict.

[31] Letter to Doris from her father, dated 8 June 1939. Private Collection, Judy Mason-Benedict.

[32] Letter from Eva Mosbacher to her parents, cited in Christoph Gann, *'12 Jahre, Jude, 10.5.39 abgemeldet nach England' Das Schicksal Eva Mosbachers und ihrer Eltern*, (Landeszentrale für politische Bildung Thüringen, 2013), pp. 45-46.

[33] Lilli Goldschmidt addressed to the Ruben family, dated 12 May 1939, Private Collection, Judy Mason-Benedict.

[34] Letter from Eva Kollisch to her father, dated 2 September 1939. Margarete Kollisch (1882-1979) Papers, AR25058, Center for Jewish History, New York.

[35] Vera Gissing, *Pearls of Childhood. A unique childhood memoir of life in wartime Britain in the shadow of the Holocaust*, (London, Robson Books, 1994), p. 49.

[36] *Ibid.*

[37] Martha Blend, *A Child Alone*, (London, Vallentine Mitchell, 2001), pp. 77/78.

[38] Red Cross Postcard from Eva Mosbacher to her parents, cited in Christoph Gann, *'12 Jahre, Jude, 10.5.39 abgemeldet nach England' Das Schicksal Eva Mosbachers und ihrer Eltern*, (Landeszentrale für politische Bildung Thüringen, 2013), p. 56.

[39] *Ibid.*

[40] See Highmore, *Ordinary Lives: Studies in the Everyday* (Routledge, London and New York, 2011), pp. 3-4.

[41] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

[42] James Hinton, *Nine Wartime Lives. Mass-Observation and the Making of the Modern Self*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 7.